

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

Controlled Food-Relief or FAMINE

by
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Chairman,
Peace Pledge Union

CONTROLLED food-relief, or famine—these really do seem to be the only possible alternatives for a large part of Europe today.

We ought to have known that it would come to this. It is eighteen months since our own Minister of Agriculture warned us that "tens of millions of people on the Continent of Europe will soon face the danger of starvation, many millions may well perish."

This warning note went largely unheeded. It is true that unlike most Government warnings it has not been repeated. We have had many warnings of various kinds from the Ministry of Information and the BBC, but not about famine in Europe. The facts of the situation have been common knowledge in the United States, but here information has been very hard to obtain. The press seems to have joined in a conspiracy of silence.

Now, however, the cry of those who are suffering has begun to be heard and there is some hope that at last the public conscience may be stirred and something may be done.

Facts of the Case

We are now told that famine conditions are reported from many parts of Europe that formerly produced surplus for export. If that statement is true, what must be the condition of those parts of Europe which formerly relied largely on imports?

Belgium is on the verge of starvation. There is abundant reason to believe that in that unhappy country, which formerly depended on imports by sea for something like half its food supply, the health of several generations may be irremediably impaired.

In the streets of Athens it is a common occurrence for people to collapse from hunger. In September the mortality in that city had doubled since the same month of the previous year and was still rising rapidly. Statisticians calculate that if nothing is done and the war lasts one more year, at least one third of the population will die for lack of food. Medicines are not to be had and surgical instruments are almost unobtainable.

In Unoccupied France even a year ago millions were undernourished and some were starving. Two weeks ago the BBC broadcast a talk which referred to the starving children in the streets of Barcelona with swollen heads and protuberant stomachs.

These statements are all made on the authority of competent observers, and the necessary references can be given if required. They outline a picture which in its stark horror must search the consciences of all of us.

If it were the result of a natural disaster it would be bad enough. If it were due to military operations or to German requisitioning only, we might shirk responsibility. But the



The Keystone Press Agency's caption to this picture reads: "A queue of Polish men and women waiting to receive food distributed by a German relief organization in Poland. An American agency issued this photograph in Great Britain, obliterating the relief organization notice and describing it as a picture of German citizens queueing for food in Germany."

situation is due in large part to our deliberate policy of food blockade, and we share with Germany the responsibility for it.

What We Can Do

What can be done about it? Well, there are two suggestions freely made when this question is put. Many pacifists say "Well, why isolate the food blockade? This is the true nature of war and you will never get rid of war by attempting to humanize it. The only thing we can do is to work to stop the whole bloody business."

On the other hand, many supporters of the war are alive to the danger of public attention becoming diverted by humane considerations from what they regard as the main purpose of "winning the war." They say in effect, "The only way of dealing with the situation is by a military victory which will drive the Germans out of the occupied areas, and it is a false humanity which ignores this and allows the public will to victory to be weakened by attempts at the immediate relief of suffering."

The difficulty is that both these suggestions are long-term policies—the first for psychological reasons, the second for military reasons. Unless we pacifists can somehow find common ground with some of the supporters of the war method and with them appeal to the conscience of the whole nation immediately the ravages of hunger and disease may carry off millions on whose behalf the war is professedly being waged and may threaten the whole future of civilization.

War at its Worst

And there is common ground. The weapon of the food blockade does represent war at its very worst. Its effects are probably more devastating psychologically than those of any

other kind of warfare. It selects the weak and the innocent as its first victims. A hideous weapon at any time, it is particularly hideous when applied to the occupied countries. We starve our friends in the attempt to starve our enemies.

No wonder the Belgian Prime Minister hoped that, while the blockade is being used to win the war, "some means of coming to the rescue of Belgian youth, which represented the future of the nation, might be found." No wonder the Chairman of the Greek Red Cross in London reminds us that the Greek Merchant Navy, remarkable for so small a nation, is now bringing food to Britain, not to Greece. "The grand defence made by Greece," he continues, "was a great contribution to the war effort of the Allies, and we must not allow it to be said in after times that the reward for her heroic stand against aggression was starvation."

What a gift for Dr. Goebbels! The British Navy blockading the shores of Greece while the Greek Merchant Navy brings food to Britain! The Daily Express for January 6 reproduces a cartoon being widely published in Germany, and Harold Nicolson in the Spectator of January 10 gives a short report of the propaganda in Greece showing the thoroughness with which the German Ministry of Propaganda is using the material thus provided.

It Can be Done

Is it possible then to do anything in the way of relieving the clamant need without seriously prejudicing the military situation as between ourselves and Germany? Upon the answer to this question depends the measure of immediate cooperation with non-pacifists for which we may

(Continued on page 4)

PACIFIST COMMENTARY:
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

Liberation of Greece

FROM WHAT?

THE Government is said to be "contemplating lifting a corner of the food-blockade" in the case of Greece. It would be inadvisable to put much trust in the report while The Times can write as it did on Jan. 15: "To feed Greece, however it is done, is to help Germany and so delay the liberation of the Greek people."

I do not know which to marvel at the more: the callousness or the stupidity of such a declaration. The Greek people needs, now, to be liberated from death. Their ships are being used, as the Chairman of the Greek Red Cross in London said last week, "to bring food to Britain, not to Greece." The situation is intolerable even to the most blunted conscience.

Who can for one moment imagine that, if these islands were in the like situation, the British people would "take it?" The very least we can do is to assign, at whatever cost to our own war-effort, some of the Greek shipping in our service to the business of conveying food to Greece under the Red Cross.

Greece's Urgent Need

THE latest news, at the moment of writing is that a decision on the question of food-relief to Greece may be expected by the end of this week. There is a suggestion that some 20,000 Greek children should be evacuated to Egypt; but, as Dr. Cawadias says, "the problem is more complicated." The suggestion is quite inadequate to the need. The need is for 4,000 tons of food to be sent weekly into Greece.

"In Athens alone," says the News Chronicle (Jan. 19), "6,000 people are dying daily; and conditions are even worse in the Peloponnese." M. Sinopoulos, the Greek Minister in London, says, "We are hoping that the blockade will be eased, but nothing has been done so far." Presumably, this was one of the questions which had to wait for decision until Mr. Churchill's return. I respectfully suggest that it deserves to take precedence over every other.

The Brittle Empire

EVENTS, not individuals, have created "alarm and despondency" among all thinking Englishmen. The catastrophic deterioration of our position in the Far East, though perhaps counterbalanced in the vague mass-mind by the success of Russia, is really made more ignominious by that success. We seem to be witnessing the spectacular collapse of a brittle Empire, maintained by a specious prestige. Says the New Statesman (Jan. 17) bitterly:—

These saboteurs trusted a tradition of racial superiority which has ceased for a generation to correspond with the facts... what threatens to destroy our Empire in these regions is not merely that the men on the spot were second or third rate; it is that their contempt for brown and yellow skins unfitted them for realistic thinking and adequate action.

"We shall win it all back again," is the attitude of the many who believe that the British Empire is, by nature, everlasting. But it will take some doing. But, even if it were done, British prestige has suffered irretrievable damage. Holding down a reconquered Empire would be a vastly different enterprise from

(Continued on page 2)

Steady Does It

LAST time we gave the figures for the PPU Headquarters' Fund we were able to announce the handsome figure of £92. It would appear that our readers were overcome by their effort, for during the last fortnight they have contributed only £6 12s.

Please rally round during the next fortnight and keep steadily at it. It is the steady contributions that are the surest means of realizing our objective of £1,000.

The total so far is £311 17s. Send your donations, made payable to the Peace Pledge Union, to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

The Editor.

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Love — and Assassination

RETRIBUTION has suddenly come into prominence as the foremost of the British war-aims. As far as we remember, the word was not much used in the last war. In its new prominence, it has the effect of a novelty. Why "retribution," in particular? When first sent into the arena by Mr. Churchill it was a raging lion; then the Archbishop of Canterbury tried to domesticate it, without much success. Now the Archbishop of York has taken it in hand.

It comes somewhere between "vengeance" or "revenge," on the one hand, and "justice" on the other. That is a great merit. "Vengeance" or "revenge" sound rather awful; "justice" is too mild. So the Archbishop of Canterbury suggested hopefully that there was a cardinal difference between "retribution" and "just retribution," and that we ought to exact only the latter. Then why not simply "justice"? The answer is that if Mr. Churchill had meant "justice" he would have said it.

The Archbishop of York takes us further. "Retribution is a necessary part of justice." And he places it in a scheme: thus. Justice is the primary expression of love. "Love itself must establish justice before it goes on to its distinctive ends." And justice itself must exact retribution before it goes on to its peculiar business. So, as the great Bossuet said, "it becomes easy to reconcile everything." Here is how it is done:

We must at all costs avoid the spirit of hatred... If we fight as Christians, we fight Germany for the love of the Germans yet to be. And this love, for their sake, as well as for the sake of others, must find expression through justice. This is the ground for that emphasis on retribution which has lately become prominent. Retribution is a necessary part of justice; when moral law has been outraged it becomes a moral necessity. But as the Archbishop of Canterbury said, it must be carefully distinguished from vengeance. Vengeance is the infliction of loss or pain for the satisfaction of the injured person; it is the expression of a lasting enmity. But retribution is the infliction of loss or pain for the vindication of justice, and is the expression of a desire for a truly common good.

As a piece of abstract moral theology, we have no quarrel with it. But in the context from which it arose, and in which it is being applied, we have. What in practice it amounts to is a demonstration that Mr. Churchill is behaving like an accomplished Christian in demanding "retribution," without a qualifying epithet. Neither he—nor we—need worry about "just retribution": retribution is justice.

Now we turn to The Times (Jan. 14) to see how these abstract theories are to work out in practice. It is very important, says that candid organ, to bring home to the authors of cruel and lawless deeds that retribution awaits them.

But whatever may be said or left unsaid in London, events will take their course. The horrors wrought in Nazi-occupied Europe may well be purged—possibly before the war ends and certainly long before a peace-conference can meet—by a swift and spontaneous invocation of that kind of "wild justice" that is commonly called revenge. It would be hypocritical not to recognize this crude fact. It would be equally hypocritical to hope that it will submit to legal forms.

Spontaneous? We wonder, having lately listened to Col. Britton on the wireless. He nightly tells the "V" army in Europe to get out their pencils and write down the names and addresses of various collaborators with the Nazis. "One of those I had intended to name," he said on Jan. 9, "was found dead on a railway line a few days ago." "It seemed to me," writes a correspondent, "a pretty clear indirect incitement to assassination, assuming the assassins didn't take too great risks." Love, justice, retribution, vengeance, inspired assassination. It really is comforting to reconcile everything.

Burma Looks to Japan

merely holding it—and it would be an enterprise which would rapidly exhaust us, if we are not already exhausted by the effort of reconquering it.

Effect on India

BUT all the probabilities, sacred and profane, point to this vast revolutionary upheaval in the Far East being permanent. The effects upon India will hardly fail to be equally revolutionary. I doubt very much whether even our acceptance of the demands of the National Congress would do much to secure the situation.

It is not a small cultural minority, reared under the peculiar conditions created by the British Raj, led by lawyer-politicians who have shaped themselves on the democratic pattern, that can decide the attitude of a people of 400 million peasants, living on the border-line of starvation. Probably the Congress politicians would need to invoke the British military machine to keep them in power; and that not even their enthusiastic support would make much difference to the actual situation, unless they really have the anonymous millions of India behind them. That is doubtful. So that it is possible that the refusal of the British authorities to yield to Congress is more realistic than it appears at first sight.

Gandhi himself is the one Congress leader who has some real hold of the Indian masses; and probably his deeply religious pacifism is far more popular than the tactical pacifism of the politicians—and, at this juncture, far more significant. I note with interest that Sir Stafford Cripps is expected to visit India before returning to London.

Burma and Japan

THE arrest of U Saw, the Prime Minister of Burma, because he is alleged to be in communication with Japan, is not reassuring. Admittedly, when he came to London, he got no satisfaction for his demand that Burma should be guaranteed Dominion status. What wonder then that he should turn toward Japan?

The assumption of the sabir-mind that the Burmese and Indians and Malaysians owe loyalty to their British rulers is, if soberly considered, untenable. Whether or not they would be actually worse off under Japanese rule than under British, U Saw at least does not appear to think so. Probably he considers that the position of Siam under Japan is preferable to that of Burma under Britain. If that is his opinion, he has a plain right to hold it. It may be a disconcerting opinion; but it is not an absurd one.

Strategic Equations

THE whole of Mr. Churchill's strategy appears to have collapsed. He took the risk of withholding reinforcements from Malaya in order to strengthen the offensive in Libya. He over-estimated the decisiveness of that attack, with the result that the Malaya Tribune is asking: "We wonder if Bardia is sufficient

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

price for Penang and Hongkong?" But now we are warned that the equation will probably not be so easy as that. The primary objective in Libya is the destruction of Rommel's armoured corps, says The Times (Jan. 16), and the consequent securing of Tripolitania.

If, however, the campaign could not be wound up in this way, British commitments would be greater than ever, since the force operating in Tripolitania would have to be supplied over land communications of more than 1,000 miles. It must be remembered that sea communications from Alexandria to the Libyan ports are now much more precarious than after the capture of Benghazi last year, since now the enemy is in possession of aerodromes in Greece and Crete from which he can threaten convoys along the whole route.

So the question may have to be: "Is a worsening of the position in N. Africa a sufficient price for Singapore?"

If Singapore Falls

AUSTRALIA is, naturally, perplexed, irritated, and alarmed by the view, which it has good reason to believe is held by Mr. Churchill, that the aim of British-American strategy is to beat Germany first, and that, pending this, the Pacific must be regarded as a subsidiary theatre of war. Says the Melbourne Argus:

No normal citizen of the British Empire has ever contemplated the surrender of Singapore, whatever other belligerent preoccupations the Empire might have. Its loss would be a shame from which British pride could not easily recover; yet this disgrace is a possibility which the authorities in the UK apparently regard as secondary. Australia, apart from her special interests, has a legitimate interest in imperial policy, which seems to have become debilitated by limited vision.

And as the days go on, and the Japanese advance steadily and swiftly in Malaya, the voice of Australian criticism becomes more strident. "If Singapore falls," says the Sydney Daily Mirror, "Mr. Churchill will fall with it, and the political repercussions will be cataclysmic." It is certainly true that if there were anyone to replace Mr. Churchill, the fall of Singapore would be his downfall, too. But is there anybody?

If Russia Wins

THE significance of the Russian advance is hard to estimate. The popular view is that the Germans have begun to run and will not stop running till they get home. That certainly seems rather sanguine. But it is difficult not to believe that Hitler's prestige has suffered seriously. Barely three months ago he was assuring Germany and the world that the Russian armies were finally broken, and that nothing remained but to sweep up the pieces.

The British idea is that when the Russians have defeated Germany, America and Britain will turn their undivided attention to Japan. The assumption that Russia will defeat Germany is a big one; but, supposing it were realized, is it so certain that Russia would look benevolently upon a British-American conquest of the Far East, supposing that were possible? It seems fairly plain that Russia, if she does beat Germany, will be in an absolutely commanding position in Europe—and elsewhere. She will be able to exact a high price from Japan for her continued neutrality. But the price she would exact would probably be one that would give no satisfaction to Britain or the USA.

Empire Problems

ONE or two hints of the real problems to be faced if there is to be a real peace after this war (but only one hint—by the Rev. Henry Carter—that much depends on how and when the war ends) penetrated the atmosphere of unreality pervading the session of the National Peace Council's standing Peace Aims Conference held at Oxford, Jan. 9-12. Thus, G. D. H. Cole opened the conference (which was specially concerned with the British Empire's part in the new world) with such questions as "Will there be a British Empire?" "Do we want there to be a British Empire?" "Will there be any dependent empires at all?" But the Conference proceeded on the assumption that there would be.

In the course of the discussion one or two speakers did point out that the problem was not so much whether there should be any world economic planning (as had been advocated) but who should do the planning and what should be the purpose of it. Mr. W. Arthur Lewis, of Jamaica, for example, said that the existing international raw materials control schemes had been concerned with questions of power rather than of economic needs. Then again there were occasional reminders that before this country at any rate could presume to plan for a better world economic order it would have to put its own house in order.

New Attitudes

BUT occasionally there were glimpses of even deeper problems involved in the building of a just peace. These were prompted by consideration of the position of the colonies. The industrialization of the colonies had been strenuously advocated, but it was left to the Rev. Henry Carter to warn the conference that there must be a new attitude to industrial labour if the experience of South Wales was not to be repeated in the colonies.

Similarly the need for a radically different attitude to the colonial peoples was emphasized by the colonial delegates themselves. Mr. Robert Adams (British Guiana) said there must not be one standard of values for whites and another for coloured people. However grandly white people might talk and plan for the improvement of the lot of the colonial, colonialists did not believe they were in earnest so long as they failed to regard and treat coloured people as human beings equally capable of taking their part in the conduct of their own affairs. A similar plea for a different attitude was made by Mr. R. Gardiner (Gold Coast) who declared that the articulate and educated negroes at least were quite capable of holding the most responsible positions.

The Unborn Protest

I HAVE just been reading another of those articles on the declining birthrate, in which the writer complains that many people do not have nearly as many children as they might, and that this is a sign of national decadence.

I gather from this that a nation's decadence can be estimated by the number of children that are not born in it. This is serious, for the number of children that are not born in England is overwhelming.

You may protest that it is futile to try and estimate the number of people who do not exist.

I have good authority for saying that they do exist. Recently a bishop announced that it is very wrong to "deny the supreme gift of life" to unborn children. Would a responsible person like a bishop waste his time talking about the duty of giving things to Nobody?

★
WHY, you may ask, and for whose

benefit, do we require a larger population? There are two answers: (1) for the benefit of the nation; (2) for the benefit of future generations.

I must postpone discussion of (1) till a further occasion, for it involves an elaborate explanation of the complex metaphysical distinctions between the whole and its part. Let us confine ourselves to (2).

There is nothing new in this. Ever since Progress was invented each successive generation has been asked to make sacrifices for the next one. Whether it's a war or a wage-cut, the object is always Jam Tomorrow. It is an accepted political principle that the only people for whom anything can ever be done are those who have not yet arrived.

★
NEVERTHELESS, it seems strange

that, since we are doing all this for the sake of the Unborn, nobody ever thinks of consulting them first.

It is always taken for granted that they would wish to be born, and to my mind that is definitely a moot point. I would go further and say that I have never met a mooter.

We are proposing to force birth upon them without pausing a moment to reflect that the poor little devils are probably scared stiff at the sight of this planet.

We demand that they shall be brought into the world before we have even begun to reach any agreement as to what sort of world it is likely to

by
OWL GLASS

be. Indeed, such indications as have been given in authoritative quarters are enough to give any unborn child the pre-natal equivalent of the nip.

Leading economic authorities are already discussing arrangements for post-war competition in the foreign markets (which was the chief cause of the last two W's to End W), and now we have the Archbishop of York prophesying "a heavily-armed Britain and conscription for two generations after the war."

I can only say that if I were unborn I would do all I could to stay put, and if I saw any stork hovering around I would throw an astral brick at it.

★
YOU may object that it is not possible to consult unborn persons. Why not? We have it on the authority of a bishop that they exist. Anyhow, the fact is I have done so.

Acting on the assumption that if people can communicate with those who have Passed Over, it should be equally simple to converse with those who have not yet Passed In, I borrowed a medium, put him into reverse, and succeeded in getting into touch with a few Unborn.

I found them in a truculent mood, and under no illusions as to why their earthly presence was required. Obviously, they said, their main job was to act as bomb-stoppers in defence of a broken-down social order that couldn't even feed them properly.

They asked a lot of questions, and when I admitted there was no official agreement as to when the war would stop, what sort of social system would follow it, or how long it would be before the next one, they offered to sell their birthright for twopenn'orth of pre-conceived pear-drops.

Frankly, they said, it wasn't good enough. It was clear that the land of their proposed birth had nothing definite to offer them but the chance of getting bumped off again in twenty years' time if they hadn't starved to death before that, and the seance closed with a resolution urging me to do what I could to encourage birth-control.

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing I have received further messages from a number of Unborn saying that on second thoughts they wouldn't mind risking it if I will be their father.

Thank you, children. I am deeply touched. Again, thank you.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:
I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,

Dick Sheppard House,
 6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

YOUR SHARE IN THE FUTURE

By JOHN BARCLAY

THERE is always a short-term policy for the individual, whatever the case may be for an organization. During the last 5½ months much has been happening to bring the pacifist and non-pacifist elements of society together. Area reorganization has helped to establish a new sense of unity within the PPU and there has been an increased effort to make contact with other progressive bodies.

One example of the way that concentrated pacifist thought and action on a large scale has influenced those working outside our own circles is in tackling the problem of Food Relief.

For several months the 17 Areas of the PPU have been supplied with information regarding starvation in various parts of Europe. Books, pamphlets, and leaflets have been widely read and as a result many individual pacifists have been moved to pity by the conditions of millions of starving people. They have talked, written letters, and even organized public meetings. Within the last two weeks letters and articles from non-pacifists have begun to appear in national newspapers, and the public conscience is becoming more sensitive on the subject.

PPU GIVES A LEAD

It is not easy to trace the consequences of any one action, but there are some who believe that the decision of the National Council of the PPU to prosecute a campaign for Food Relief may prove to have been the beginning of a more humane policy in this country.

As in this, so in other ways can a minority be of much service to the future. Hunger is one result of the war; conscription of youth in Britain is another.

Area Development gives an opportunity for the PPU to express a united voice, and we rely on you as an individual to help us make that voice truly representative. Only as policies for which the PPU stands are implemented by individuals can these policies be said to have any relevance.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

Boscombe, Hants.—Ida Hillman writes, "You will be pleased to hear that Boscombe Group has energetically gone into this question of finance and has made a special appeal to all its members using the Green Door Appeal, as we feel this was the most urgent one. We have asked every member for a minimum sub. of 6d. to help reduce the debt on Dick Sheppard House; in addition we have definitely adopted the Nottingham Scheme, and have got well away with it with most heartening results!... We have also sent news of this to our Region with a strong recommendation that all the other groups in the Area do likewise. I am particularly gratified, as Area Representative to the National Council, that my own group has given Bournemouth Region a lead... We ran a most successful New Year social last Saturday at the Labour Hall, when about 150 people got together, and we cleared over £5 10s. for Regional funds."

J.B.

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PEACE PLEDGE UNION

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"The Real Politics of England and Germany"

JOHN SCANLON looks at the economic events behind the

"fraudulent phrases" for an understanding of the war

IN July 1914 the international socialist movement was at sixes and sevens. By August 1914 it was not even in that condition. The hopes of world peace, with but few exceptions, had gone to their battle stations.

At the time I wondered why professions of faith which were considered noble and elevating in the period between wars were so ruthlessly discarded at the first blare of the national trumpets. There appeared to be no answer to the question. It just was so.

But although few of us were aware of it, there was an answer. A cold logical mind, applying one test to international problems, had found it. The mind was that of V. I. Lenin. His answer was given to a meeting of internationalists in May 1917. Speaking to an audience in Petrograd, confused as were most of the internationalists, Lenin said:

Today, however, we are confronted, first of all, by two groups of capitalist Powers. We have before us all the great world capitalist Powers—England, France, America, Germany—the politics of which for a number of decades consisted of unceasing economic rivalry for world supremacy, to strangle small nationalities, to secure threefold and tenfold profits for bank capital, which has emmeshed the whole world in the chains of its influence.

These are the real politics of England and Germany. I emphasize this. We must never tire of emphasizing this, because if we forget it we shall never understand anything about modern war, and we shall be helplessly in the power of any bourgeois writer who palms off fraudulent phrases.

It may be that we will differ as to the method and even the revolutionary purpose of Lenin in delivering this judgment, but none of us can be dense enough to have overlooked the multitude of fraudulent phrases.

Yet how many of us could say at the outbreak of world lunacy on September 3, 1939, that we knew all, or even a portion, of the economic events which made the lunacy almost inevitable?

I say "almost" advisedly, because war, even at the end of a period of trade lunacy, is only inevitable because nations accept war as an instrument of policy in pursuit of their trade lunacies.

BUT, accepting Lenin's dictum that none of us were fit to discuss this war unless we knew all the events that led to it, I have devoted considerable time to reading all that was available before the war, and very little that has been issued since. I was baffled.

I could no more understand why

men and nations behaved as they did between wars than I could understand any avowed pacifist urging other people to kill. I could not understand why nations should pursue economic policies which produced the worst period of starvation in human history at the same time as man had reached his period of greatest productivity. I could feel that Lenin's advice to study the week-to-week and year-to-year events was not sufficient in itself. That study only revealed what men and nations did—it gave no clue as to why they did it.

I soon found that if I was to get an answer myself I had to discover the basic principle on which the economic rivalries were conducted. That had eluded me, and it had eluded me because not one of the Socialist leaders on whom I had relied for guidance had even mentioned the subject. Like myself, they had been content with the doctrine that if only a sufficient number of men with a Labour label were returned to the House of Commons and a sufficient number of men with other labels kept out, then peace and happiness would automatically follow.

True, many of them spoke a new economic jargon with great fluency, but the jargon itself had only been made necessary in order that an economic system basically wrong should appear sound.

AS we know, the system broke down in the hands of the Labour Government. All the jargon was rendered useless and meaningless when the economic blizzard struck it in 1931. All the formulae designed by the social reformers for improved, ambulance work became so much waste paper. The more profound phrases which tried to prove that all would be well if we nationalized mines, land, and factories did not meet the bill presented in 1931.

Later, when the Red War had fol-

"Cast thy bread upon the Waters . . ."

I LIVE in a small provincial town in Lancashire where we have preached the pacifist faith for more than a generation. From it went forth in 1916 many valiant fighters against war and conscription.

Since the war fell like a poisoned cloud on the heads of humanity one has wondered whether anything remained from the labours of those years; whether the war had completely submerged and obliterated the fruits of those earnest endeavours.

An incident which happened on Christmas Eve gave the lie to my doubts. I relate it for the encouragement of others similarly situated.

Our little PPU group had appointed a few of us to go into the question of some sort of Christmas message to the public. We had two objects in view: first, to say something which would in some small degree counteract the thoughtless acceptance of military victory as the only possible good end to the war; and second, to let the people know of our existence.

A handbill was drawn up, three thousand copies ordered, and plans made to meet on Christmas morning for the distribution. When I got to the appointed spot who should be there but one of the stalwarts of the other Great War.

We got to work at once and soon

several of the lads arrived (in spite of their almost bedless night) followed by one who has already "done time" in this round and his good lady. About three hours saw the job done, and it seemed most appropriate to bring the people to their doors to receive our message whilst the radio was warbling—and in some cases blaring—"... the angel of the Lord came down..."

But I have over-stepped my Christmas Eve incident.

Whilst waiting for the printer to finish the job I took a few proof copies and went round to try to collect the cash. The printer started me off with a small discount. A caretaker gave me 2s. A visit to a one-time member of the No More War Movement yielded 5s. I then called on a man who used to support Wilfred Wellock's New Crusader. He gave me a 10s. note but later he said "Give me that back," and substituted a pound for it.

I had one more call in mind and, walking into the shop, I waited a few minutes until Mr. C— was at liberty. Showing him a copy of the handbill I said "Will you look at this and, if you approve of it, help us to pay for it?"

I was deeply moved when he replied "If you are putting it out I don't need to look at it; what must I give you?" I told him we were committed to two guineas and if we could raise that we should probably get a reprint (which, by the way, we did for the New Year). He immediately put two guineas down on the counter and sent me out of the shop with the firm conviction that this was part of the outcome of the efforts put in by many humble people over many years.

It was good to get the money but better still to know that many, though they cannot do what we are doing, nevertheless feel in their bones that we are fundamentally right.

lowed the White War, all of us, once a month, were assured that some happening somewhere was a sure sign we had reached a turning point in the war. But in 1931 mankind had reached a turning point in history. Unfortunately few of us knew it, and, search and read as I will, I cannot find one trace of evidence to show that one living Labour leader had either.

Yet the measures proposed in 1931 to restore the old order drove M. Laval to Berlin to make a trade treaty; they turned Japan from what Mr. Lloyd George called "our old and trusted Ally" into an open enemy; and left 25 nations smarting under what they believed were injustices inflicted on them by Mr. Runciman's quota system.

AT that time not one single country wanted war. And, in spite of all history, never once in political circles was there the faintest indication that the measures considered necessary in 1931 were making war a certainty in 1939.

Strangely enough the one group which did see the dangers in those years was the group actively engaged in pursuing the trade war. Month after month the journal of the London Chamber of Commerce kept repeating that if certain things were done to one nation or group of nations the nations or groups of nations affected would be bound to take measures to safeguard their own economy. In May 1934 for instance, this journal said:

The curtain is about to go up on the next act of this tragedy... This month will see the screw put on Germany by her creditors, a proceeding which whatever the immediate outcome, must hasten the decision of Germany, forecast in this Journal last July, to declare all external trade to be a State monopoly. This decision will be followed in due course by undercutting from Germany, which will be a potent factor in hastening forward the disintegration of the old international monetary system.

Let me say at once that I do not accept as correct all the wickedness attributed to Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Runciman, and Mr. Chamberlain by the official Labour leaders in 1931. The National Government of the period was taking what it considered were the necessary measures to restore what they called the national credit. That credit depended on a continuation of the "old international monetary system." In trying to persuade the electors of Britain that he and Mr. Chamberlain and not Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. A. V. Alexander should rule Britain, Mr. Baldwin said in October 1931:

Our nation has lived for a century upon its credit. The confidence of the world in the honesty of our finance is essential to the existence of London and to the maintenance of a stable pound.

We must ensure in our time that the words "safe as the Bank of England" shall hold their truth and still ring round the world.

These words were delivered in the belief that foreign money was essential to Britain's prosperity, and that the foreign money had gone because of the political acts of the Labour Government. They were delivered in the belief that the return to prosperity in Britain was to be based, not on our ability to produce and sell, but on our ability to attract foreign money back to London.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain emphasized this on October 12, 1931, when he said we must create a condition of affairs which would ensure that "the foreigner will again feel confident that he can put his money in London without fear that in a year or two it may have lost a substantial part of its value."

Having read these speeches, everything became clear. Britain did not earn her living by the production and exchange of goods. What gave her her standard of life was her power to attract money, but as nobody can make a profit merely by borrowing, she had to lend the money she attracted. Having acquired that knowledge, then and then only can one connect the day-to-day and year-to-year events in world economics.

One more thing is necessary, and it is this: How did Britain acquire the power to attract this profitable money-lending business to her shores, and what steps are necessary to maintain it? But that must wait for another week.

(To be concluded)

LETTERS

Honest Admission

PERHAPS the following extract from the January number of the Gamlingay parish magazine is the most frank admission yet by a Church of England clergyman that his primary duty is to the State and that where Christianity is incompatible with that duty it must be sacrificed.

In war we have no sympathy for our enemies and we rejoice when they suffer hard knocks and experience bitter failures—to that extent we are unable to be Christians. M.B.

Civilian Service Corps

The Civilian Service Corps was formed as a subsidiary organization to the Friends' Ambulance Unit with the object of putting Christian pacifists in touch with hospitals where their services are urgently needed as porters and orderlies.

The work is largely manual, and may include any of the following: portering, stretcher bearing, fire watching, operating telephone switchboards, blacking-out, etc. There is also a chance of ward work in some cases but this cannot be guaranteed and should not, therefore, be expected.

If any of the readers of your paper are anxious to do work of this sort and have a suitable tribunal exemption we shall be glad for them to get in touch with the Secretary of the CSC, 4 Gordon Square, London W.C.1.

MICHAEL H. CADBURY

Vansittart Tradition

It is odd that John Studholme should select as a "pretentious and pseudo-historical" work in the Vansittart tradition Butler's "Roots of National Socialism," which the New Leader (Dec. 27, 1941) described as "steering a sane course between the Vansittarts and those naive people who can see no 'German problem' at all."

Butler's book no doubt has its faults: those who followed the New Statesman controversy that was aroused by the review of it there will remember the charges brought against it of undue neglect of the social and economic background of the ideas discussed. But a book on the roots of National Socialism is not the place where anyone would expect to find much reference to those German writers (Kant etc.) who represent an opposing tradition. The other book mentioned, "Thus Spake Germany," which does profess to represent the whole, or at least the main, German tradition may well be as unhistorical as John Studholme makes out. The tone of the reference to the two works also suggests that they attempt to cash in on the popularity of "Black Record." Again, this may be true of "Thus Spake Germany," but certainly not of "The Roots of National Socialism," which is a work of research begun, I believe, in 1938.

An attitude such as that of John Studholme is calculated to confirm in their belief those who regard it as typical of pacifists to indulge in high-handed criticism of those who have studied a subject far more deeply than they have themselves, if the results of that study run counter to their prejudices.

J. C. MAXWELL

11a St. Andrew's Road, E.13.

FOOD RELIEF FOR EUROPE

A Public Meeting

Stuart Morris
Roy Walker
Miss Vera Brittain
Charles Dimont
John Cadbury

(American Friends Service Committee)

AEOLIAN HALL, New Bond St., W.1.

Sat. Jan. 24, at 8 p.m.

Admission free London Area of the P.P.U.

Stop Press News for Women!

THE C.O.s HANSARD No. 10

(6d; 7d. post free)

The Premier's proposals for men and women; Second Reading, etc., in the Commons of the National Service (No. 2) Bill, etc. Read what Bevin actually said.

BROADSHEET 12: WOMEN AND MILITARY SERVICE.

(Revised to the middle of January)

Set of Broadsheets 1 to 12: 1s. post free. One dozen Broadsheet 12: 1s. post free. C.B.C.O. 6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

YOUTH SERVICE LEAGUE opens its New Year Season with the ADELPHI PLAYERS in the TRAGICAL HISTORY OF DR. FAUSTUS

By MARLOWE

at the Small Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., Tuesday, January 27th at 7.30. Doors open 6 p.m. Light refreshments served. ADMISSION FREE

Controlled Food-Relief or FAMINE

Continued from page 1

hope. And there are good grounds for the answer "Yes."

In the last war, under the Hoover scheme, food relief was given on a very large scale in occupied Belgium and Northern France. The distribution was supervised by an American Committee working with Committees of Belgians and French. Even after America came into the war and all the Americans had to withdraw, the work was continued under the national committees, and at least ten million people were saved. The British and French Governments which had at first opposed the scheme were won over and both expressed themselves satisfied that the food had gone to the people for whom it was intended.

Schemes of controlled food-relief have been in operation in Poland and in Unoccupied France in this war, and the American Friends, who have been mainly responsible, report that "we can state emphatically that there is no danger of seizure of our supplies by military authorities or interference with our administration. We have worked in complete accord with all Governments concerned in Poland and in France." The Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross has also been active and has had the cooperation of the Governments of most countries including Germany and Italy.

Nor must we forget the controlled food-relief which goes to British prisoners of war in Germany itself. Thousands of tons of foodstuffs are now despatched, transported, and distributed annually under the supervision of the International Red Cross and although the difficulties involved are immense, and after the fall of France were for a time almost insuperable, the Government persevered and has recently expressed itself as satisfied that a very great improvement had taken place in recent months. No-one has suggested that the scheme should be abandoned because of its difficulties or dangers, although our men only depend on it to add to rations already far more generous than those available to the civilian population of the occupied territories.

Make Facts Known

These facts ought to be known, and it is our job to make them known.

We honour those who, behind the scenes, have been pressing for Government action. There is reason to believe that the Archbishop of Canterbury interested himself in the situation in Greece particularly. His intervention may have contributed to the change in the attitude of the

Government which resulted in permission for the importation of limited quantities of foodstuffs from Ankara into Greece.

But what is important is a widespread and well-informed public opinion which will insist that the conditions are so intolerable to the conscience that something must be done at once. To the task of creating and informing this opinion, the Peace Pledge Union has been committed by resolutions passed at two successive meetings of the National Council.

The necessary material is largely to be found in Roy Walker's book, "Famine Over Europe," and arrangements are being made to keep the Union informed of the changes which take place in the situation from time to time. From the results of efforts which have already been made, we know that our case is capable of attracting widespread support.

Ignorance is our chief enemy; scepticism as to the possibility of a practical scheme comes second; prejudice comes third. Of these enemies the first two, at any rate, can be met and overcome. Will every group and every individual member take this campaign seriously—realizing what it may mean to millions—and make it a matter of conscience to take an active and strenuous part in the "sustained" effort to which the National Council has called us?

News of C.O.s

First Of Its Kind

AT Wealdstone Police Court, Jan. 16, Peter T. Marsden, of Ely, was prosecuted under the National Service Act, 1941, for failing to comply with an enrolment notice under that Act calling him up for the National Fire Service.

Peter Marsden, a Cambridge graduate, who had been registered conditionally on remaining in his present occupation as a school teacher, on May 9, 1940, by the Midland Tribunal, pleaded guilty and was fined £10 or two months. He was given time to pay.

This is the first prosecution of its kind. Peter Marsden had accepted medical examination for the NFS and had not made his conscientious objection clear at his interview.

ESSENTIAL FOR WOMEN

The C.O.s Hansard No. 10 (CBCO, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1) contains reports of the Prime Minister's speech on conscripting women and other national service changes proposed, the Second Reading in the Commons of the National Service (No. 2) Bill, and other valuable information. (Price 6d., 7d. post free.)

ADVISORY BUREAU CHANGES

Aberdare.—Glyndwr Griffiths, 4 Harriet St., Aberdare.

Aylesbury.—Arthur W. Page, 48 Regent Rd., Aylesbury.

Chippenham.—(Individual adviser) W. T. Holman, Gatesgarth, Lacock Rd., Corsham, Wilts.

Maidstone.—Leslie A. Smith, 73 Grace Av., Maidstone.

Northwich.—(Individual adviser) Miss Muriel Poulter, 16 Manora Rd., Northwich.

Paddington.—(Individual adviser) G. P. O'Leary, 26 Huxley St., W.10.

Poplar.—(Rev. Gilbert Shaw is not now the secretary.)

Shadwell is now covered by Bow.

Wandsworth.—R. Wilson, 258a Wimbledon Park Rd., S.W. 19.

A private conference of Christian pacifists is to be held at Friends' House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1, next weekend (Jan. 30, 4-7 p.m.; Jan. 31, 10 a.m.-5 p.m.). Admission by ticket obtainable from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, Drayton House, Gordon St., W.C.1.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d.
Box Number 6d. extra.

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Latest time for copy:

Classified advertisements: MONDAY
Displayed Advertisements: First post
FRIDAY. (Maximum space allowed—3 inches single-column, or equivalent.)

ACCOMMODATION

BOARD residence in comfortable pacifist home. Every convenience. Very moderate terms. Phone Derwent 4330.

DORSET. Furnished 4 room cottage. Modern conveniences. Near bus, shopping, phone. 24 gns.—Box 1061 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CAN any sympathizer kindly offer accommodation to C.O. (exempt) and family in endeavour keep family intact. Reasonable terms. Box 1065 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. FAMILY, agricultural, require house/cottage (minimum 3 bedrooms) preferably within 70 miles Bury St. Edmunds. Need desperate. Pope's, Depden, Bury St. Edmunds. FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

FURNISHED half house to let, entirely self-contained, 3 bedrooms, sitting room, kitchenette, electric water heater, Esse Fairy Cooker. Neill-Watson, Cualann, Carrickmines, Co. Dublin.

SHARE in cottage (1 hr. London) offered to woman or couple with child. Write: 24 Wharfedale St., W.C.1.

EDUCATIONAL

LEARN to write and speak for peace and human brotherhood, harnessing artistic, imaginative, intuitive and intellectual gifts. Correspondence lessons 5s. each. (Also small classes, 1s. 6d. each.)—Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FOR SALE & WANTED

CARRIER Cycles for tradesmen, carriage paid all complete, thus ready to use, £8 17s. Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

LAND & COMMUNITY

CHRISTIAN C.O. (21), unable to do heavy labour, seeks light duties on farm or with land community. Box 1062 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFISTS wanted for Christian community Details from Jones, Woodside, Gressenhall, Dereham, Norfolk.

PARTNER required by Cornwall smallholder (29); market gardening, poultry, good home, keep, share profits. Small capital preferable but not essential. Box 1064 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, to rent or purchase. Ten, fifteen or twenty acres of good arable land, with Bungalow or small house attached. If necessary, a partnership would be considered. Any fair distance from London. Somerset or Devon preferred. A few miles from a Town. Suitable for market gardening. Send full particulars to Box 1042 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WOULD-BE Farmer, little experience, some capital, seeks partner or manager with experience. West Country, fruit district preferred. Box 1069 Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE F.o.R. Tyne-side branch annual tea and meetings, Sat., Jan. 31, at Friends' Meeting House, Pilgrim Street. Meetings 3.30 and 5.15. Speaker the Rev. Don Robins.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, York Branch. 10.30 a.m. Sun., Jan. 25, 1942 in No. 6 and 7 rooms, Co-operative Buildings, Railway St., York. Dr. Alex Wood will speak on "Prospects for 1942." A hearty welcome extended to all.

PERSONAL

SEVENTY-FIVE Babies need your help. Eight men wanted for night duty on pacifist fire squad at Manchester Babies' Hospital. Write Cowan, 15 Dean Drive, Wilmslow, Manchester.

SOUTH MANCHESTER C.O. aged 20, night-worker, wants male companion, interested in swimming, reading, rambling, or cycling. Free 2 p.m.-7 p.m. Box 1068 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, Sibford, near Banbury. Wanted immediately domestic help. Sibford is a co-educational boarding school of 200 governed by the Society of Friends. In beautiful country area. Applications to Headmaster.

HOUSEMOTHER-SEAMSTRESS to supervise wardrobe 35-45 evacuee children (13-16) country hotel, Lincolnshire. Also active HOUSEKEEPER. Both should be interested in this type of work and prepared receive maintenance plus small salary. International Commission, 10 Woburn Square, W.C.1.

OFFICE Manager urgently required for Peace News; able to handle accounts. Send full particulars to P.N. office.

WANTED for pacifist household, cook-general, child permissible, or couple, husband gardener-handyman. Mrs. Bennett, Eastmere, Shurlock Row, nr. Reading.

WANTED. Two lady domestic helps. Pacifists welcomed.—Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford. Tel: Abinger 119.

WOMAN HELPER required immediately in Rest House for needy Londoners; board, lodging, and pocket money supplied. Write Thompson, 38 Lewis Road, Kettering.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. CLERK, TYPIST; requires post East London. A. L. Wright, c/o 48 Eversleigh Road, East Ham, E.6.

C.O., 20, EXEMPT, desires work connected with theatre, management or professional side. Box 1066, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 20, EXEMPT, requires work in estate agent's. Experience of lettings, management, etc. D. Ford, 3 Harringay Gdns, N.8.

GIRL 15½ seeks post Junior Shorthand Typist. Romford or accessible district.—Langford, 136 Havnes Rd., Hornchurch.

OFFICE Manager, 27, pacifist, requires work. Anything considered, anywhere. Farming preferred. Driver. Box 1063 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WOMAN (48) pacifist needs paid work. Would like contact with those engaged on social work. Has office experience (farm), typist, and as housekeeper and homemaker. Box 1067 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House; for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

LAKE DISTRICT: "Beck Allans," Grasmere. Vegetarian Guest House, open all the year round for strenuous or restful holidays amid some of England's finest scenery. H. and C. water all bedrooms.—Write: Isabel James. Phone: Grasmere 129.

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